1:Gallin E:-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6

courses, served with wine. Chickens, ducks, and geese are slaughtered, and on some of these occasions the villager will even slaughter one of his pigs to feed his many guests.

Other than these large festive occasions, the simple monthly *pai-pai* are the sole occasions when a family which can afford it may eat more and better food without incurring criticism from neighbors. Therefore, although it may not be necessary to include pork in the minimum sacrifice at the particular ritual, these occasions have become socially sanctioned opportunities for eating better foods than usual. This is one reason why the villagers look forward to and continue to observe even the least important *pai-pai* ceremonies.

At the same time, there is a certain amount of ambivalence among some adults toward the larger *pai-pai*. They realize that they can scarcely afford the high cost of such festive occasions which often saddle them with debts. However, in addition to the pleasurable anticipation with which the villagers look forward to these occasions, social pressure also makes it necessary for each family to take part in these ritual affairs. Each guest who attends such a large dinner is expected to reciprocate and invite his host to some similar occasion in the future.

This kind of socially necessary variation in the eating habits of the Hsin Hsing villagers means that the diet and general nutrition of the villagers is not at all constant in either quantity or quality.

Besides the feasting the ritualistic events occasion, they are the villager's main source of entertainment as well. For in addition to the festive dinners served on such occasions as the village god's birthday, a funeral, or the going-away party for village boys going off to the army, usually there is also entertainment. This may be formal, such as a travelling professional puppet show, or informal, such as drinking and finger games. Such events attract neighbors as well as friends and relatives from surrounding villages. Therefore villagers enjoy these entertaining ritualistic events, not only in their own village, but in neighboring villages with which they have ties of kinship, friendship, and the like.

For entertainment outside their own village or neighboring villages, the people sometimes go to Lukang to see a movie at the local theatre. The movies may be of Chinese, Japanese, or American origin. There are usually two showings a day, one in the original language with Chinese titles and the other with Taiwanese (Min-nan) dubbed in for the convenience of the many illiterate village people.

More often the villagers go to the local Taiwanese opera house in Lukang, where travelling companies perform regularly to large crowds. Although the movies and the opera are relatively inexpensive, villagers do not often indulge in these forms of entertainment. This is mainly because of the amount of time involved in going to Lukang

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Taiwan AD6
Formosa AD1

and seeing the show, and only partially because of the cost. When the villagers do attend, they generally go in small groups of young boys, or young girls, or a group of older women.

CLOTHING

The villagers' clothing, like their food, is marked by simplicity and a show of thrift. It is not at all uncommon to see a villager wearing work clothes which have been patched several times. Even for special occasions such as a marriage or a large *pai-pai* festival most villagers still dress very simply.

The style of clothing usually varies with age. Older villagers generally wear the traditional Chinese clothing of pantaloons and jacket, although in very hot weather men of all ages wear shorts and a T-shirt when working. In colder weather boys and men (other than the older and more traditionally dressed men) wear ordinary khaki wash pants and several shirts, and a sweater or jacket if they happen to own one. For protection against the cold, a villager depends on a number of layers of clothing, usually cotton, rather than a few layers of woolen items. The cotton padded jacket is worn more by older men and women than by young people.

While older women wear the more traditional clothing, younger women and girls prefer and usually wear the Western-style dresses, skirts, and blouses which have become very popular since the war. Such clothes are usually made to order either by village seamstresses or in Lukang. Young girls and women wear the Chinese tunic dress (*ch'i p'ao*) on the occasion of their marriage, on special outings to Lukang or Taipei, and during important village festivals. Many of the older villagers tell of the old days when "everyone, including the rich, wore coarse cloth, since in those days people were thrifty." But today, these old people complain, "people are no longer satisfied with coarse cloth and want to wear the better cloth."

Still, few villagers remember ever having made their own cloth. "Cloth has practically always been purchased in Lukang or from itinerant merchants." Before the Japanese period, inexpensive undyed cloth was apparently imported from the mainland, and during the Japanese period, cloth manufactured in Japan was used. Since the end of the war, the Taiwanese textile industry has grown rapidly, mainly in the vicinity of Chang-hua City and Ho-mei, and today all the cloth used by villagers is Taiwanese-made.

Nowadays there is a great deal of specialization, and it is both uneconomical and difficult for villagers to make their own clothing unless a member of the household, usually one of the daughters, has studied sewing. A family's clothing is usually made to order by locally

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

government to the village officials. Copies of *Harvest Magazine*, an agricultural magazine published by the JCRR, are received monthly by several village subscribers.

A bus runs past the village almost every hour during the daytime. The bus travels between Lukang and Chi Hu, and at both places connections can be made with buses going to various cities where there are trains to other parts of Taiwan. Most of these transportation facilities have been available since Japanese times, although they were not then used as frequently as they are today. Now that so many villagers work and live in Taipei, individuals and their families move rather regularly between the village and this city. Villagers in the area have increased their mobility a great deal during the last decade, and today, most villagers, including older people and adolescents, have travelled at least once to Taipei.

Within the general village area the most important means of transportation is the bicycle. Almost every village family owns at least one bicycle and a few are two-bicycle families. For the villagers the bicycle is an extremely practical machine. It can transport several people at a time to the fields and can also carry small animals and produce to market. The people in the Hsin Hsing area had some bicycles during Japanese times, but they were expensive and thus fell into the luxury class. At that time most things were still carried by hand. Since the restoration of Chinese rule, and especially since the growth of the bicycle industry in Taiwan, the bicycle has become less expensive and is now practically indispensable in village life.

CONNECTIONS WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

The steadily increasing impingement of the outside world on the village, as well as the concomitant development of extensions beyond the village, make it evident that Hsin Hsing and the other villages of the immediate area are far from being small, isolated units.

Not only are transportation facilities and general means of communication available but they are used regularly by most of the villagers. The general economic and social connections of Hsin Hsing extend far beyond the limits of the village and even the district. Contact with people from other places is quite frequent. The general store in the village has a limited stock of merchandise which is usually overpriced, so the villagers buy only a few necessary items there. On the other hand, men and boys frequently congregate there, especially during the agricultural slack season, to talk and to play chess and other small gambling games. As the site of the village bus stop along the Lukang–Chi Hu road, the store also serves as an important vantage point for the dissemination of news and gossip of the area, since so many people regularly go past by bus or bicycle.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

because they were afraid it was dangerous, but Old Tan wouldn't let them because he thinks it's his son."

The children have heard this story many times but it no more prevents them from spending long afternoons playing under the tree than the ghost in the pig pen prevents them from hiding there when their mothers are searching for them.

For the children, the women, and a good many of the men, the significant dimensions of the world are the thirty-five or forty brick buildings of Peihotien. With the dramatic increase in population on Taiwan, one corner of a neighboring village now lies just across a paddy field from Peihotien. Yet a woman in search of a moment's chat or a few slices of ginger would rather walk further, within the boundaries of Peihotien, than step across the paddy field to the nearby village. The children of the neighboring villages all go to the same school, but their after-school play groups are composed of village mates—even if they must fill out a team with underaged siblings. A farmer's small plots of land may be scattered among those of farmers from several villages, but in the evening when he is puzzling out a new directory from the Farmer's Association or worrying about the market prices, he does it with the men of Peihotien who may work fields a mile in the opposite direction from his own.

There are several places in the village where groups of adults may be found gossiping or working together at various times of the day. On warm summer evenings the men often fill their rice bowls and retire to the doorstep to eat and chat with a neighbor similarly occupied. A group of families usually share a well and hand pump, and two or three women are there at almost any hour washing out a few clothes not worth carrying all the way to the river, rinsing off a dirty child, or preparing vegetables for the evening meal. The women who live near the irrigation ditch that skirts one edge of the village often gather by the little bridge to clean out a clumsy kettle or rinse out some diapers. A concrete platform on one side of the bridge makes it a popular cooling-off place for children who do not dare go into the river and aren't allowed to play in the precious well water.

For adults the most frequent informal gatherings occur in the three shops of the village. Two of the shops are so small that it takes a practiced eye to identify them. On the square behind the house in which we lived, a family sells cigarettes, matches, a few candies, toilet paper, and similar small items. Here, probably because the family

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

includes some lively teen-agers, is where the older adolescents of the village gather. At the opposite end of the village in a shed that seems in imminent danger of blowing away is a candy store run by a woman with too many children to go out to work and too little money to stay home. The women who come to buy candy to quiet their crying children often sit down on the bench in front of the store to pass the time of day with Mrs. Lim, the proprietress.

The main store and the one most easily identified as a store is located in the center of the village. The candy and cookie collection is more elaborate, and rice, cooking oil, fuel, spices, and a few other essentials can be obtained here at prices only slightly higher than in Tapu. For many years there was no store at all in Peihotien, but according to Ng Kok-hua, the proprietor, our landlord's older brother talked him into fitting out an unused storage wing of his house as a shop. Very little of Mr. Ng's present good fortune comes from the store, but he still keeps it open and probably makes some profit from it. Unfortunately, the bane of a village storekeeper is trying to refuse credit to his neighbors and, when this inevitably fails, trying to collect what he is owed. Occasionally Mr. Ng loses his temper and curses his debtors loudly and publicly. This rarely adds to his income but it does entertain the loungers resting on his benches. One day when Mr. Ng was trying to collect a bad debt from a neighbor who is also a distant relative, I jotted down the highlights of the discussion. Mr. Ng's wife who tends the store most of the time and takes the brunt of her husband's temper was also there. Mr. Ng was saying angrily to his wife, "You think that everyone is of good heart and just give things to them."

Mrs. Ng, looking anxiously at her husband's rising color, answered, "Well, they said they would give me the money after they sold the pig. How could I know that they wouldn't give it to me?"

Mr. Ng gave his wife a look of utter scorn and, turning his attention to the hapless debtor, a Mrs. Lim, he continued, "You all come here and get things and don't give me any money, but when I go buy all these things I have to give money. How can I go along like this? I have to go and borrow money so that I can buy things for the store!"

Some of the on-lookers exchanged skeptical glances over this statement. Mr. Ng did not seem to notice and warmed to his subject. "How can I borrow money and then lend it to other people? That's what it amounts to. And that is no way to do business."

burner sits outside the east door at one end. Inside, directly opposite each of the three bright red doors are three large niches in the wall, each of which contains from five to nine gods.[2] In front of each niche are flower stands, flower vases, and worship tables (see Chapter VII for further details).

The temple is open from early in the morning until late at night and is seldom empty. It is used by children as a playroom, particularly on hot or rainy days, but when the kids yell too loud or run too fast, they are chased out. In the heat of the day, two or three men may be napping on the cool floor. Visitors to the village sit on the benches and chat. An occasional chess game is played on the bench with its crowd of kibitzers. Village champions challenge salesmen at $1.00 per game, but salesmen rarely win, perhaps because they are being politic but perhaps because the kibitzing is not neutral. Advice is given frequently and openly and at times, it appears as if the salesman has challenged the whole village. Of course, there are a few people who come in to worship or ask a question of the gods. In the evening, between dinner and bed-time, men sit on the porch or on the benches and chat. The local bus picks up and discharges passengers in front of the temple.

The temple belongs to the entire village: each resident shares fully in its ownership and a new resident is automatically a participant if he so desires. The

Young Men

561 884 As will be discussed in the life history section, there is a period almost of limbo for young men between primary school graduation and their military service. At some point which is not clearly delineated a boy becomes a man and earns a man's wage rather than a boy's wage. Boys who enroll for an apprenticeship or who continue in school tend to drop out but those remaining in the village constitute a social group.

561 883 ▲ 517 The main activities of the group are in the evening and consist of conversation, music, wandering around, telling jokes, talking about girls, and the occasional trip to tea houses which are cheaper than coffee or wine houses. Such places usually have girls who are not prostitutes but who will talk very suggestively, entertain, and occasionally pet.

561 These young men's groups are age graded, usually a spread of not more than two or three years. They sometimes become a sworn brother's association and at that time, the student and apprentice in the appropriate age group will usually be invited to join.

Young Women

882 In general, there is no equivalent for girls of the young men's groups described above. Girls who graduate from primary school stay and help at home until marriage 000 and are watched much more carefully than boys. The major

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

prolong the show rather than because they are convinced of the efficacy of the medicine. Every evening people gather to watch the television set which faces the street at the front of one of the village stores as the storekeeper sells soft drinks and ices. Finally, nearly every home has a radio which blares loudly from early in the morning to late at night. Although farmers listen to a few reports on weather and the occasional news report, the usual program features Taiwanese opera or some of the new popular music featuring singers with guitars which is preferred by young people.

Occasionally, trips are made to a cheap movie house in Hsin Tien by middle-aged women in groups of 4 or 5 for a matinee or unmarried young people in groups which are separated according to sex. There is some dating but the boy and girl must sneak off and meet in town. Some young married couples now go to the show together but this is a new trait and still partially condemned by older people. Also, people leave the village for recreation in the parks and to see sights such as the zoo. However, most people getting on the bus alone are usually going shopping or on business and most family groups are usually going to visit relatives. Relatives, friends, and former residents often come to the village to visit. Some middle-aged village men occasionally visit a small restaurant in a nearby village to chat, drink cheap wine, eat light snacks, and play word

179
178 come to the village to visit. Villagers, in turn, visit
527
369 relatives who live in the city more often on Sunday than any other day.

There were a number of different factors contributing
[871] to the institutionalization of the Western week. The li school, in accordance with national directives, operated full days Monday through Friday and a half day on Saturday with Sunday, a school holiday. Several of the mines were closed on Sunday as were all but one of the factories where villagers were employed. Many of the businesses and stores in town and city were also closed on Sunday. Thus, Sunday has become a day of rest and few farmers now work a full day on Sunday. Except during the busiest season, there are few labor exchanges on Sunday and few farm workers are hired on Sunday. Most farmers who do work on Sunday are only working on their own fields.

517 Village young people often go off to town on Sunday,
527 to the parks, the theaters, the zoo, and merely to walk
571 around and see things. Where boys do meet girls for the
882 secret dates which would be disapproved by parents and village elders, they are usually arranged for Sunday afternoons when both are most likely to have available leisure time.

[574] As previously stated, migrants to the city often come back to the village for visits on Sunday and more recently, villagers are going to the city to visit relatives and friends now living there.

512 exchanged or hired, men with small contiguous plots will
461 plan activities so there is someone nearby working too so that during periodic breaks, they can enjoy a cigarette and conversation together. Even men who are usually silent claim to feel more comfortable when someone else is around. As I observed village activities over a period of time, I was struck by the fact that it was quite rare for someone to be isolated for more than a few minutes. The detailed plans made in the evening to work near each other indicate this fact is by design.

512 After cleaning up the kitchen and preparing for
515 breakfast the next morning, women have a little leisure
[855] time before giving the small children baths in the kitchen and putting them to bed. Slightly older children are bathed and dressed in pajamas but they may play quietly or study for a while before going to bed. The older children and adults now take their baths in approximately age order although unmarried adults are often far behind. Fires would rarely be specially started for hot water so that if one desires hot water for his bath, he must take it soon after dinner, making use of the stove which is hot from cooking dinner.

512 After bathing, there is leisure time for recreation.
561 Several conversational groups tending to consist of age-
571 graded neighborhood clusters gather in the courtyards. Once
• 517 past age 30, most husbands and wives will be in the same

517
512 conversational groups. About thirty or forty people will
571 be watching the television set in front of the store and purchasing an occasional cold soda pop or ice cream. There will be several groups of single young women sitting in one member's bedroom conversing. Most of the young unmarried
512 men in the village will be together in a single group. Few people will be in town since the last bus leaves at 6:30 p.m. and the road at night by bicycle may be dark and dif-
[443] ficult, especially in the rainy season. The last visitor to the village is the man peddling the delicatessen cart from which villagers purchase the fish and pickles to accompany breakfast in the morning.

[358] About 10:00 p.m., the caretaker locks up the temple and by 10:30 p.m. most people are in bed. The stragglers are usually the young unmarried men or a few middle-aged married men who have been to the drinking place down the road. If one of the bi-monthly medicine shows is in town, everyone will stay up later. By 11:30 p.m. the village is usually silent once more and another day is about ready to commence.